

LIBERTY

AND

COMMON-SENSE

TO THE

PEOPLE



OF

IRELAND.

GREETING.



DUBLIN:

Printed in the YEAR MDCCCLIX.

LIBERTY and COMMON-SENSE

TO THE

PEOPLE



Greeting,

*Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects,*

**T**HERE are two CORNER-STONES on which the Liberties of *England* and *Ireland* have rested for many Ages. And these Corner-Stones or Fundamentals are of such a Nature as may not be found in any other State, and are a thousand times richer than entire Diamonds.

The First of these great Fundamentals is our TRIAL BY JURIES. The Second of Them is our REPRESENTATION BY PARLIAMENT.

To describe all the Advantages that Subjects derive from these INCOMPARABLE PRIVILEGES would fill two large Books, but we shall touch only such Articles as are to your present Purpose.

With respect to TRIAL BY JURIES, every Subject of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* hath a Right to demand the Judgment of his Neighbours in whatever affects his Person and Property. That is to say, He hath a Right, in civil Causes and in criminal Accusations, to require a Trial by twelve Men of his neighbouring Peers or Equals. And if, on the impannelling of this Jury, he hath just Cause of Exception to Any of the Twelve, such Persons are to be laid aside and their Places supplied by Others, whom he thinks more impartial. So that a Man, by this Means,

Means, is, in a great Measure, the Chuser of his own Judges.

Twelve Men, at the least, are required to make a Jury, in order to raise so many Walls, as it were, about Justice, through which Iniquity cannot enter, but by the Corruption of the whole Number. And our Laws expressly require that, in all doubtful Cases, Decision is to be given on the Side of Mercy. From the Beginning of the World, no other Nation can boast the Blessedness of an Institution like This.

Here are no Inquisitions, Bastiles; no Torturers, Racks, or Impalements. None of the arbitrary, insolent, and mercenary Tribunals that are established throughout the rest of the World.

Here, Justice and Mercy go Hand in Hand together, and if a Man must suffer, He suffers by the Laws of Love and the Decree of a Country.

The second great FUNDAMENTAL of the peculiar Liberties and Privileges of the People of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* is the Right, which they have of speaking and acting by REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT.

This, indeed, is the chief of human Claims. It supposeth Us born to all the Freedom and Rights that Nature first gave to Man, when made Lord of the Creation. And, as all Men are not equally strong and wise, nor any Man sufficiently so for the Preservation of his own Person, Properties, and Privileges: It supposeth Us to lodge a Part of our natural Rights with superior Wisdom and Power for their better Maintenance and Enlargement, as a Man deposits Money in a national Fund, for the greater Assurance both of Principal and Interest.

Wherefore, when we elect Persons to represent Us in Parliament, we must not be supposed to depart from the smallest Right which we have deposited with them. We make a Lodgment, not a Gift. We entrust, but part with Nothing. And, were it possible

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that They should attempt to destroy that Constitution which We had appointed them to maintain, They can no more be held in the Rank of our Representatives, than a Factor, turned Pirate, can continue to be called the Factor of those Merchants whose Goods he had plundered and whose Confidence he had betrayed.

The Men whom we thus depute to Parliament, are not the bare Likeness or Reflection of Us their Constituents, They actually contain our Powers and Privileges and are, as it were, the very Persons of the People they represent. We are the Parliament in Them, We speak and act by Them. We have a Right to know what they are saying and doing. And, should They contradict our Sense, or swerve from our Interests, We have a Right to remonstrate, inform, and direct Them. By which Means we become the Regulators of our own Conduct, and the Institutors of our own Laws, and Nothing material can be done but by our Authority and Consent.

For the further and better Assurance of these great Privileges. Should we happen, at the time of Election, to mistake Bad-Men, for Good-Men, or should the Good-Men whom we chuse turn afterward into Bad-Men, a Misfortune which we are told is not altogether impossible; it is a comfortable Consideration that they are not quite immortal, either in Part or in Whole. For, though the Parliament of *Constituents* subsists for ever, yet the Parliament of *Representatives* must come to a Dissolution at certain Periods. And, then, our New-Elect may reform, in one Season, all the Mischiefs and Errors that might have happened in Twenty.

Suppose a Stranger, just landed, who had travelled far and known much of the Laws and Customs of other Countries. He meets a poor Freeholder of about 40 s. a Year and asks him the following Questions.

*Strang.* Pray, Friend, who governs in this Country?

*Freehold.* The Laws.

*Strang.*

*Strang.* That may be. But who Judges of those Laws?

*Freehold.* The People.

*Strang.* You are one, I suppose, of this extraordinary People.

*Freehold.* Yes.

*Strang.* Suppose you were personally accused of Crimes, or that your Property was in Question, are you Judge in your own Cause?

*Freehold.* No.

*Strang.* Who then?

*Freehold.* Twelve of my Neighbours and Equals.

*Strang.* Suppose you have Reason to think that some of those Equals would not do you Justice.

*Freehold.* I lay them aside, and their Places are filled by others.

*Strang.* I then pronounce you happy. But, pray, who makes the Laws?

*Freehold.* The People, again, Sir.

*Strang.* Ye are, certainly, too numerous to avoid Confusion, and not, All of Ye, wise enough for such a Business.

*Freehold.* In that Case, we chuse to speak, and act, by Men whom we think wiser and better than Ourselves, but still They are to act under our Direction and the general Sense that we have of our own Interests; and little as I stand here, no Tax can be raised, nor any Law enacted in this Kingdom, without my Authority and Consent, I assure you.

*Strang.* I formerly pronounced you happy. I now pronounce you free, and the greatest Man, by far, that I have met in my Travels.

#### COUNTRYMEN and FELLOW-SUBJECTS.

Be pleased to open your Eyes, and, then, Ye cannot but discern that these Privileges of the People of *Ireland* may, more properly, be called Prerogatives, as They are equal to Those of any Crowned-Head. There are few Nations upon Earth who might not, advantageously, exchange all their Possessions for half  
of

of the Constitutional Benefits which we enjoy. But Custom and Use take off the Sense of these Blessings. And we no more regard Them than the Light of the Sun, by which we are daily warmed and cheared, and fed with the Products and Delights of all the Seasons.

Such extraordinary Advantages, derived to a whole People and their Posterity for ever, cannot be too much valued, too nearly watched, or too surely guarded. And We should be equally cautious of encroaching on Them, Ourselves, as of suffering Them to be encroached upon by any others.

The Liberty of our Representatives, as told Ye already, is the Liberty of Ourselves. They ought not to be frightened, by any Power whatever, from Speaking or Acting with that Freedom and unreserve, without which, They can no longer be a free Parliament, nor We of Consequence be a free People.

If We cannot be satisfied with the Rights which we have of instructing and directing Them, and of chusing better in due Time. If we threaten or compel them to act as we dictate, They may, properly enough be called Speaking-Trumpets, but they cease, from that Moment, to be a Parliament.

What then shall we do, Friends, if they disoblige or contradict Us? shall we abolish our Parliament, the Corner-Stone of our Constitution? GOD FORBID.

But, may we not chuse a Populace or Number of Persons who shall be unanimous, and wiser, and better than our Parliament, and who shall order the Members from the Galleries and so forth, to act and enact in such and such a Manner? This Project too We fear, may have its Difficulties; for Who, on this Occasion, shall instruct the Instructors?

We have, then, Nothing left, but to take back to ourselves the Trusts we have given, and to make one universal PARLIAMENT of CONSTITUENTS. But This too, upon second Thoughts, is likely to be attended with some small Inconvenience. For, where shall we All meet, how shall we be All of a Mind,  
and

and who shall plow, and sow, and weave, and labour, and provide for Us, while we are All employed in making Laws for the Nation?

### COUNTRYMEN and FELLOW-SUBJECTS.

We two Personages, called LIBERTY and COMMON-SENSE, have a Right to address you, and to be heard and regarded by you, as we have been, for some Ages, your best Friends and truest Patriots. No Times nor Changes, neither the Influence of Courts, nor the Factions of Country, have prevailed upon Us to vary from the Principles and Conduct, which we have held and advised from the very Beginning. All Parties, in their Turns, have come over to our Side, but We never were of any Party or Faction whatever. Still *constant but reasonable, ever strong but not furious*, We have a Title to be listened to, even where we cannot persuade.

We therefore take the Freedom of expostulating, a little, on the Consequences of your present Proceedings in the chief City of this Kingdom.

Public Clamours through all our Streets. Whisperings, Cabals, Murmurs, in every Coffee-House and Place of Resort. The Parliament House daily surrounded and thronged with Rioters. Many of our Representatives stopped and insulted by the Rabble. The Coaches of the ——— and ——— opposed and detained. Letters publicly printed and directed to the Lords and Commons, with express Threats of Graves and broad Hints of Assassinations. And, lastly, those Threats nearly put in Execution, by dashing Chairs and Coaches to Pieces, pulling the Members out by Violence, striking, wounding and casting some into the Kennel, and compelling Others to swear Allegiance, before a Mob-Magistracy, to a Mob-Administration. These Things, Countrymen, are such as have not happened, at the Times of greatest Turbulence, within the Annals of *Ireland*.

We have, however, the Charity to believe, in your Favour, that Matters could not have come to this  
Extremity

Extremity without some extraordinary Cause. We have, accordingly, made all diligent Enquiry, and, on the best Information that we can get from yourselves and others, we find Two CAUSES assigned for your present Commotions.

The FIRST is, that a Bill was proposed to be brought, this Session for effecting a UNION between the two Kingdoms, whereby Parliaments, from that Moment would for ever cease to be held in *Ireland*.

The SECOND is, that a Motion was actually made in the H—e of C——s for an Act, whereby the K——s of G——t B——n and their M——s should for ever after be empowered to call a P——t when they pleased, and to prorogue it as long as they pleased, and to make it as Little as they pleased, and so to annihilate it if they pleased. And it is still affirmed, and believed by Many, that a Bill to the said Purpose hath actually passed the H——e, and hath been transmitted to *England* for the R——l Assent.

These Reports were, indeed, alarming in the highest Degree. This would have been to strike at the very Root of our Constitution. French Invasions would be Nothing to This. For, it were better to see the Loss of all our Properties, and the Massacre of half our People, than that Ruin should be brought on our Children and the Children of their Children to the latest Generation.

No Countrymen. Forbid it GOD and MAN, that This should be ever effected. That it should ever be designed!

We, the Personages called LIBERTY and COMMON-SENSE, though we have not joined in your late Riots and Excesses, are yet determined not to survive the Day that shall ever bring the Evils Ye apprehended to pass. We have carefully enquired into the Occasion of those Apprehensions. We think we have got true and full Intelligence. We will plainly and honestly declare all we know. And if any One can convict Us of Error or Misinformation; let Him speak

Speak out, in the Name of Truth, and We will publicly and thankfully submit to his better Knowledge.

We must, however, premise that, if the Causes of your Apprehensions were groundless, or, even, doubtful, Ye have proceeded in this Matter to a very dangerous Excess; an Excess which was like to have been attended with the most fatal Consequences.

We have shown Ye, already, that any Constraint, though proceeding from Us the Constituents, would instantly be destructive of Parliamentary Liberty, and therefore destructive of Parliament itself.

But this is not all, nor, even, the worst that is to be feared. A Constraint, on the Part of the Country, will give a Pretence for equal Constraint on the Part of the C——t. Our Members, themselves, when terrified by a Populace, may be apt to call out for military Protection; and, then, adieu to the Liberties both of Parliament and People. A Precedent, for calling a Power to protect, may be followed by a Call of the same Power to intimidate. Witness *Athens* in the Days of *Philip of Macedon*, witness *Rome* in the Dictatorship of *Julius Cæsar*, witness *England* in the Protectorship of *Oliver Cromwell*, witness every Age and Nation that possessed and lost their Liberties, the Consequence of calling Soldiers to Senate or Parliament.

Lastly. To You we speak it, Ye Aldermen, Common-Council, Corporations, Merchants, Craftsmen, and Housholders, of the City of *Dublin*! Know, hereafter, that it is your peculiar Interest, Concern, and Duty, first as a Civil-Power, and secondly as Citizens, to protect our Parliament from any kind of Insult or Intrusion. Reflect that it is his M——y's especial Prerogative to call or prorogue the Parliament to any Town within this Kingdom that He pleases to appoint. And do not forget that *Poyning's Law* was enacted at *Drogheda*.

Do Ye not tremble now, Countrymen, at the Precipice to which Ye brought Us? What Ye were  
doing

doing would have been Sport to any wicked Administration. *Ireland* hath not an Enemy who would not have joined and rejoiced at your Proceedings. In short, Ye were within a Point of bringing upon all our Heads the Ruins of that very Building which Ye ran to support, and of perpetrating every Evil which Ye intended to oppose.

But, no more of this we beseech Ye. If the Day must come, wherein our incomparable Constitution shall cease to exist, do not You be the Persons whom your Posterity shall have to accuse for the Desolation of *IRELAND*.

It is, now evident to ye All, that, whether your Apprehensions were well or ill-founded, the Measures which ye took, were improper, ineffectual, and, even destructive of the End ye proposed. Ye should, at least, have weighed your Power before ye made your Attempt, since the slightest Reflection would have taught Ye that a greater Power was at hand, the Calling in of which might at once have proved fatal to you and your Country.

LET US now examine the Foundation which Ye had for your Fears.

And first, with respect to a UNION between *England* and *Ireland*, We can aver with perfect Assurance, that such a Thing was never intended by any Persons of Weight or Wisdom in either Kingdom.

When a Marriage is proposed between Nations, Princes, or Potentates, the Advance is always made from the Stronger to the Weaker, from the Greater to the Less; for, otherwise, Contempt and Refusal might evidently ensue. But when did *England* address *Ireland* on this Subject? I task any Man living to shew Us the Time wherein the UNION, so dreaded, was ever a Matter of Contemplation, or Debate, in the Council or Parliament of *Great-Britain*.

If a UNION had been proposed and actually brought into Agitation between *England* and *Ireland*, We, the Personages called LIBERTY and COMMON-

MON-SENSE, would have been the First to have admonished Ye, and peremptorily to have forbidden the Bands between two Parties, where One must always be bound in Consequence of its Weakness, and the other always free in Consequence of its Power, to enlarge, infringe, alter, lessen, or wholly abolish the Conditions at Pleasure.

But, Countrymen, we are well saved from any Trouble on this Head.

*E*———*d* has already experienced the Consequences of such a *U*———*n*. What hath been might be again. And the additional Weight of an *I*———*b* *P*———*t* thrown into the *M*———*ft*———*l* Scale would be such as all the Patriotism in *Britain* would never after be able to balance.

The present Minister of *Great-Britain*, whom We, with Pride acknowledge the best Friend and greatest Intimate that we have upon Earth, desires no such Accession to the Power that he possesseth. Where Power, in the Hands of a Minister, is Goodness, is Glory! He is Master of All that a free People can bestow. And He can never wish to enlarge it in the Hands of Successors who might lessen its Use and pervert its Purpose.

From the Throne to the Peasant, through all Degrees of People, the Proposal of an Union with *Ireland*, would be universally detestable to every *Briton-born*. It is what our Prayers and Prostrations would never be able to obtain. And *Ireland*, on the other Hand, does not seem greatly inclined to force *England* to a Compliance.

But, Countrymen, If we could suppose such an Absurdity as that *England* should solicit Us to the very Thing she abhors, Who, think Ye, would be foremost and warmest in opposing her Desires? Is it Men of loose Manners, small Stakes, or no Fortunes? Such Persons are ever forward to promote Revolutions and Changes, whereby they can alone propose to be Gainers, and yet such Persons make, at least, Nine Tenths of all our People.

Whom

Whom have we, then, left to oppose this dreaded Union? Even the very Men whom Ye accused, as confederated, for bringing the Mischief upon Us. Men, who are unanimous, determined, and sufficient against It, and who will not, as Ye have suspected, give their Inheritance for Porridge.

Our Parliament, with their Friends, Relations, and Connections, possess the whole Landed-Interest of *Ireland*. And, it is the landed-Interest that would principally, or, alone, suffer by the Union. A Land-Tax of four shillings, and, occasionally, of six or eight Shillings in the Pound, would be a fearful Deduction from Equipage and *French-Claret*. And, a transitory Place or Pension, to a few Men, can never be thought an Equivalent for such an heavy and perpetual Charge to themselves and their Posterities, and to the Persons and Posterities of all the estated Men in *Ireland*.

We know that many Rumours, of this same UNION, have been industriously raised and spread; and, that seditious Letters, for the Purpose, have been framed, printed, and published, and affirmed to have been dropped from the Pockets of M——rs. But, We challenge any Member, of either House of Parliament, to say that such a Matter was, at any Time, proposed to him by any Man, whatever, in Commission from *England*, or of Consideration in *Ireland*.

No, — Countrymen, — for the forementioned Reasons, and many others too tedious now to recite, the dreaded UNION cannot possibly be brought to pass. The Parties neither are agreed, nor ever were agreed, nor ever will be agreed, on the *said Bands of Matrimony*, to the End of Time.

WE COME, now to the second Cause of our present Disturbances. And we will treat it as shortly as we think consistent with the Fullness of the Satisfaction that ought to be given.

The Motion, which hath so much alarmed Us, was, confessedly, made during the present Session of Parliament,

Parliament, and was, in the Letter, Sense, and Occasion directly as followeth.

In the Year 1756, a Clause was added to the Militia-Bill of England in the following Words. — *And be it further enacted that if at any Time in Case of actual Invasion or upon any imminent Danger thereof or in Case of Rebellion the Parliament shall happen to be separated by such Adjournment or Prorogation as will not expire within 14 Days it shall be lawfull for his Majesty his Heirs and Successors to issue a Proclamation for the Meeting of the Parliament upon such a Day as He or They shall thereby appoint, giving 14 Days Notice of such Appointment and the Parliament shall accordingly meet upon such Day and continue to sit and act in like Manner to all Intents and Purposes as if it had stood adjourned or prorogued to the same Day.*

The People of England are more jealous than all other People, of any distant Possibility that might affect their Liberties. Yet the above Clause passed without Opposition; it is deemed a Matter of great Utility; We trust it will always be found so; and it was recommended to be passed, for the same Purposes, in the Irish Parliament.

When a certain Person, duly commissioned for the like Occasions, came over. He shewed, some Members the above Clause, and consulted them on the Step he was about to take. Whereupon They honestly and worthily answered, that they hoped the said Clause would never prove of any pernicious Consequence to England, But that they apprehended, the Words — *or upon any imminent Danger thereof* — were Words of great Latitude and not necessary for Ireland. He, accordingly, erased them, and, within a few Days, made a Motion in the House for the following Heads of a Bill, &c.

*We pray it may be enacted that if at any time in case of actual Invasion or in case of Rebellion the Parliament shall happen to be separated by such Adjournment or Prorogation as will not expire within 14 Days it shall*

*shall be lawfull for his Majesty his Heirs and Successors to issue a Proclamation for the Meeting of the Parliament upon such a Day as He or They shall thereby appoint giving 14 Days Notice of such Appointment and the Parliament shall accordingly meet upon such a Day and continue to sit and act in like Manner to all Intents and Purposes as if they had stood adjourned or prorogued to the same Day.*

This Motion was then opposed by some Friends in the House, and, thereupon, a further Time was given to consider of Reasons either for or against the Bill. In the mean while, it was industriously infused into the Minds of the People that the above Clause was, intentionally, and in its Consequences, destructive of an *Irish*-Parliament. The Alarm brought a great Concurrence to the House on the Day appointed for the Discussion. And the Gentleman, who had made the Motion, perceiving it was disagreeable, immediately withdrew it, without putting the Question. And every Member of that Honourable House can satisfy and assure Ye, that, neither the said Clause, nor any Thing relating thereto, hath ever since been introduced or mentioned in Parliament.

#### COUNTRYMEN and FELLOW-SUBJECTS

We have here given Ye, faithfully, the said fearful Clause, Letter for Letter, as it was proposed to Parliament. We cannot supply Ye with the Reasons for which our Friends opposed it, as it never came 'specially into Debate. But, though We cannot, any way, wrest the Sense to that fatal Import, with which It was said to be laden; We are greatly pleased that it did not pass. This Kingdom is poor, and weak, and distant from the Throne, and hath not the Spirit or Ability, of *Great-Britain*, to guard against the Misuse that a future Ministry might make of any new Powers granted to the Crown. And it behoveth Us, more especially to be jealous of any Novelty relating to Parliament, as it would touch so close on the Quick of our Constitution.

We

We are grieved, however, to hear of the Disgust and Resentment that hath been generally conceived against the Gentleman who made the said Motion. As He might have made it with an innocent, and even a worthy Intention.

But further——For it is far beneath Personages of our Freedom and Character, to suppress Truth, or to be guilty of Injustice, in order to humour any Person or Party whatever. We think it incumbent upon us to tell Ye a plain Story, as it was delivered to Us by Men, whose Testimony and Veracity, in all other Respects, are clear and unquestioned.

During the last Session of the Parliament in *England*, some Members expressed their Intention of adding to the first recited Clause a further Clause whereby *Ireland* should be bound, in the full Latitude of the first Clause.

Then it was that the very Man, whom we behold as an Enemy, approved himself the best and truest Friend of *Ireland*. Greatly alarmed for our Liberties, He remonstrated to the said Members, on the Injustice and Displeasure they were about to do Us, He requested that, if we were to be bound, we might, at least, be permitted to consent to the Obligation. And he prevailed upon them to drop the intended Motion, on his Promise to propose the said Clause in the *Irish* Parliament. He accordingly performed his Engagement. He moved for a like Clause, though not in Terms of equal Latitude. He perceived that even This was not agreeable; and he readily withdrew the Motion, without calling for the Question.

If this be true, Countrymen, as We are confident it will be found on the fullest Enquiry. Who, think Ye, is the best entitled to the Name of a Patriot? He, who, from Motives unknown, is at perpetual Warfare with Ministry, or He, who doeth known and eminent Service to a Country.

I ask Ye, again, Countrymen, to whom are Ye most beholden, to Patriots who, within my Memory, silently suffered

suffered Ye to be bound by Laws, on which neither You nor your Parliament were once consulted, or the Man who generously stood up for your Liberties, and saved Ye, in a foreign Land, from being subjected, against your Consent, to those very Evils which Ye unwittingly say he endeavoured to bring upon Ye?

Adieu, Countrymen, We wish Ye well. We have spoken the downright Truth. If Any can tax Us with Falshood or Partiality let him accuse Us openly.

*Signed, Dec. 11th, 1759.*

**LIBERTY.  
COMMON-SENSE.**

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**F I N I S.**

LIBERTY  
AND  
COMMON-SENSE  
TO THE  
PEOPLE  
OF  
IRELAND,  
GREETING.




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LETTER II.

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O LIBERTY, thou Goddess heav'nly bright,  
Profuse of *Bliss*, and pregnant with *Delight*!  
Eternal *Pleasures* in thy Presence reign,  
Ev'n *Poverty* grows *Plenty* in thy Train;  
Eas'd of her Load Affliction treads more *light*,  
Sickness and Pain look *cheerful* in thy Sight!  
Thou mak'st the gloomy Face of Nature *gay*,  
Giv'st *Beauty* to the Sun and to the Day,  
'Tis LIBERTY that crowns *Hibernia's* Isle,  
And makes her barren Heaths and her bleak Mountains  
smile.

ADDISON.

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D U B L I N :

Printed in the YEAR MDCC LX.

# LIBERTY AND COMMON-SENSE TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

G. I. G.



LETTER H.

O LIBERTY, thou Goddess heavenly bright,  
Whom none of Bane, and pregnant with Delight,  
From Freedom's bosom in thy radiant form  
Ere Freedom grows, first in my Train:  
Lead on, for I and Freedom's hand are joined,  
Riches and Pain look on my side;  
I bow not to the gloomy face of Nature's God,  
Give place to the Sun and to the Day,  
The LIBERTY that crowns Freedom's brow,  
And makes her barren Islands and her bleak Mountains  
Inhabitants.

D. V. B. I. N.  
Printed in the Year MDCCLX.

# LIBERTY and COMMON-SENSE

TO THE PEOPLE of Ireland, Greeting.

**W**E are greatly afflicted that, in the Sequel to this Letter, we must disown any Connection with many great and noble Personages who have been looked upon as our dearest Intimates and nearest Relations. We have been daily toasted by them, we have been the Subject of all their Discourses; They claimed Us for Companions and Fellow Travellers through Life; and They did us the Honour to avow, in the Face of the World, that we inspired all their Thoughts, and directed all their Actions; and yet we can aver, with perfect Truth, that we never once met Them in any Road that we took or any House where we set up, and that we knew no more of Them than of the Child that was unborn.

Wherefore, COUNTRYMEN, lest Ye should, hereafter, be deluded and led astray by Impostors; lest, when Some cry LIBERTY is here! Ye should listen; or, when Others cry LIBERTY is there! Ye should be induced to rendezvous with Enemies and Deceivers: We will give Ye such certain Marks and Criterions of Ourselves as, for the future, may prevent any possible Imposition.

From the Creation to this Day, no Thing, no Idea,

no Word whatever hath been so much perverted, so misunderstood, or so misapplied to contradictory Significations as LIBERTY.

The Defender and the Invader, the industrious Villagers and the dissolute Banditti, the Wolf and the Lamb, the Hawk and the Robin-red-breast equally claim and demand the Advantages of LIBERTY, These loudly claim a Liberty from Oppression; and Those as loudly demand a Liberty to oppress.

The smaller Tyrants of the Waters, while with a Conscience quite untroubled, they devour the Spawn and little Fry of their Species, yet detest any Encroachment on their own Persons or Properties, and earnestly petition the great Goddess LIBERTY to protect them from the wicked Jaws of the Shark and the Crocodile.

What, then, shall LIBERTY do, on these adverse Occasions? How may She indulge the Prayers of her several Petitioners? If She is just, if She is uniform and consistent with herself, She cannot possibly grant a Privilege from Oppression, and, at the same time, grant a Privilege to oppress.

Of all the Nations, recorded in History, the *Spartans* were the most covetous and retentive of LIBERTY. They seemed to be born and to live, and to die for no other End. They laboured, they sought Fatigue, they spurned at Wealth and Pleasure, abstained from all kinds of Sensuality and Indulgence, fought, bled, and expired, from Generation to Generation, through a Succession of seven Centuries, to preserve this one PEARL of incomparable Price.

Yet these very *Spartans*, who endured all Extremities rather than part with LIBERTY, scrupled not to deprive others of that very BLESSING which they were so earnest and solicitous to hold fast to themselves. Having conquered the neighbouring Nation of the *Helots*, They made them Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water, and subjected their latest Posterity to the vilest of Servitude.

But,

But, was it Liberty that inspired them on these different Occasions? No, Countrymen, RIGHT is a kind of *Rubicon*, over which LIBERTY never yet consented to pass. Within her appointed Province She is all bounteous and all-powerfull. She will oppose three hundred of her *Lacedaemonians* to three million of Slaves. She will lead the Band of her Free-born safe, fearless, and triumphant through all the hostile Armies and Empires of *Asia*. Of a few Shepherds and Outlaws She can make a temperate, free and invincible Nation. She could snatch her Island of *Tyre*, or her marshy Spot of *Holland*, from the Encroachments of Sea and Land, and exalt them over All that was formidable upon Earth. She will give Comfort in Affliction, and Glory in Poverty, and Immortality after Death. But with all this Omnipotence She cannot do any Thing from which She is barred by Conscience and precluded by Duty.

There is, however, a certain Personage upon Earth who picks all People up just where Liberty drops them. She leads Them into all Sorts of Extravagance and Excess. She delights in Violence and Oppression; and hath promoted and perpetrated all the Rapines, Mischiefs and Massacres that ever have happened. She is, indeed, as like to Liberty, as the Twins who came out of *Laeda's* Egg, were to each other, She assumes the same Features, Garb, Mein, and Deportment; She affects the same Expressions, though with somewhat of greater Clamour, to enflame her Votaries. In short the Resemblance is so perfect as to deceive the very Elect. But, in the Universe there is not a greater Contrast, no two Things can differ more essentially from Each other. Yet She, also, is called LIBERTY by herself and her Adherents; but in Heaven She is called LUST, and by the Discerning upon Earth She is called LICENTIOUSNESS.

Now, Countrymen, to distinguish, between these two Rivals and irreconcilable Competitors, is the Business

Business and Purport of our present Letter. *Hic labor hoc opus est.*

LIBERTY, as far as her Influence reaches, preserveth to every Man his Rights, Properties, and Privileges, from the Encroachment of all Others.

LICENTIOUSNESS, on the contrary, is the perpetual Disturber, invader, and Plunderer of all the Benefits and Advantages that LIBERTY would preserve.

The unrestrained LICENTIOUSNESS of any one Person, in any one Nation, infers the universal Slavery of that Nation. The unrestrained Licentiousness of Few or Many infers an absolute Tyranny over all the Rest. And universal Licentiousness would be absolute Anarchy and would prove, in the moral World, what Chaos was, in the natural World, before any Thing was reduced to Form or Order.

But, clearly to know what is or is not *Licentiousness*, it is first necessary to know what *Liberty* is.

PERFECT LIBERTY is the Latitude of a voluntary Conduct informed by Reason, and limited by Duty.

GOD is perfectly, unassailably, and necessarily FREE, because Nothing can influence his OMNIPOTENCE, in any Instance, to act otherwise than as infinite GOODNESS shall dictate and infinite WISDOM eternally appoint.

LIBERTY, then, is that Image of Divinity which GOD impressed upon Man, and, so far as Man can retain it, either here or hereafter, so far must he partake of the POWER, WISDOM, GOODNESS, and HAPPINESS of his Creator.

The World generally holds a mistaken Opinion that there are two Kinds of *Liberty*, the One *natural*, the other *political*, the One inherent in Man as an *Individual*, the Other adherent to him as a *Member of Society*. But LIBERTY is invariably One and the Same, in all Men that ever were born, and in all Systems of Policy that ever were instituted.

Suppose

Suppose five Men, all Strangers to each other, but of virtuous Dispositions, cast by Shipwreck or other Accident on some desolate Coast. Here, these Men would indisputably be reduced to a *State of Nature*; and so far as They retained the divine Image of LIBERTY, originally impressed upon them, so far would this *State of Nature* be sufficient to Each and to All of them.

Supposing, again, that these five Men had formerly been Members of five different Systems of Policy; Here, all their Obligations to the said several Systems would indisputably be broken off, and Each of them would find himself restored to the separate Powers, Rights, and Privileges with which GOD had endowed him at his Creation. He would find himself endued with REASON to examine and perceive the Fitness of Objects; with WILL to determine him in the Pursuit of said Objects; with CONSCIENCE to controul him from encroaching on the Rights of Others, with STRENGTH to assert and vindicate his Own; and with GOODNESS to incite him to effect the Welfare of his Fellows. And, while these five Men should retain the said Powers of REASON, WILL, STRENGTH, CONSCIENCE, and GOODNESS, unperturbed and unimpaired, They could want no further System of Policy to effect the Welfare of Each and of All-together.

*Reason* would be their *Law*; *Conscience* would be their *Governor*. Where no One attempted an Invasion on his Neighbours, no One could want Strength for the Preservation of his Rights. Each would permit to Others such Privileges as He himself possessed. And All of Them, in the undisturbed Retention of their own Property, and the just Direction of their own Conduct, would, consequently enjoy the Perfection of LIBERTY.

Suppose, again, that some large Ship, full of Men, Women and Children, should be driven by Stress of Weather on the said Coast. And that the said five Inhabitants,

Inhabitants, by an extraordinary Humanity and Exertion of Strength, should preserve all the Passengers with the Chief of their Effects.

Here, our five worthy Friends, notwithstanding the Obligation so lately conferred, would justly be jealous of Powers, which they perceived so superior to their own, and, to whose Dispositions They were, yet, utter Strangers; and They would, consequently, league and unite as one Man, in Defence of the Person, Properties, and Privileges of Each-other.

Now, those who are conversant with the History of evil Ages, long since past, will not think it quite impossible that a Few of the said Crew should confederate to the Prejudice of the Rest of the Ship's Company, and even of those Men, by whom their Lives and Properties had, so lately, been saved.

On the first Intimation or Discovery of such a Plot, it is obvious to conceive that the Parties endangered would instantly fly, for Succour, to their five Friends, of whose Strength and Benificence they had so recent a Proof. This would naturally produce a fresh Combination against Violence and Fraud. And the Conspirators, perceiving themselves defeated of their Purpose, would as naturally pretend Repentance, petition for Pardon, and sue to be admitted into the new Association.

A Society so complicated, of People known to be good and of People known to be evil, as, also, of a rising Generation of Infants for whose future Dispositions no Mortal could answer, would necessarily require a System of Policy that should comprize all that lay between the Extremes of Benificence and Violence, of Virtue and Vice.

But, here lies the Question. What sort of a System would these People be most likely to form and embrace for so salutary a Purpose?

Five of them had already enjoyed natural Liberty in Perfection. Those Five by their superior Wisdom and Virtue would, at least, be entitled to an equal

equal Voice with others. And we cannot suppose that They would willingly subject themselves to any System of Laws inferior to That which was written in their Bosoms.

It is, therefore, most rational and natural to conceive that They would propose to their Associates a Copy or Transcript of that very System of natural Liberty whose Benefits they had so lately experienced and enjoyed.

From REASON They would derive LAW. From WILL, CONSENT. From CONSCIENCE, MAGISTRACY. From STRENGTH, EXECUTIVE POWER. And They would temper the Whole with GOODNESS, that Justice might surpass in the Rewarding of Merit but associate with Mercy in the Punishment of Guilt.

Such a Copy or Imitation of the Government of GOD himself, in the Soul of each Man would surely be the Best for All Men together. *Law, Consent, Magistracy, and executive Power*, would then become the *Reason, Will, Conscience, and Strength* of the State. And these, tempered by Goodness, would constitute the same PERFECTION OF LIBERTY, for a Society, that GOD appointed them to constitute for each Man apart.

To judge clearly of the Value of these *four capital Constituents* of LIBERTY, it will be necessary to consider what would follow on the Loss of any One of Them.

And first, a Society, without LAW or *political Reason*, can neither have *Consent, Magistracy, or Power* of its own Appointment, as it would be in a State of Infancy or Ideotism, and could not move but by the Leading of the String, or the Driving of the Rein.

Secondly, Where a Society is without CONSENT, or *political Will*, though the *Laws* should be good, the *Magistracy* just, and the *Powers* sufficient, this could not be a Matter of Choice but of Chance,

and, in Case of the future *Perversion of Law, Magistracy, or Power*, the Society would be left without Resource.

Thirdly, a Society, without the Controul of **MAGISTRACY** or *political Conscience*, could have no Use for *Law, Consent, or Power*, as their Appointments and Observation would lie ad libitum. Where no One would be controuled, All would have equal Licence to encroach on Each-other, and, where All might encroach, All might equally be encroached upon, and Property and Freedom would cease throughout the State.

Fourthly, a Society, without the Appointment of **POWER** or *political Strength*, would lye exposed to the first Invader who might, at pleasure, abolish whatever It possessed of *Law, Consent, or Magistracy*.

Wherefore. As no Man can continue in a State of *Liberty* without *Reason, Will, Conscience, and Strength*, So no People can continue in a State of **LIBERTY** without *Law, Consent, Magistracy and Power, to inform, determine, controul, and defend Them*.

Thus. As Society is the Combination of several Men for the mutual Benefit and Support of Each-other; *Political Liberty* is the Combination of several *natural Liberties* for the better Defence and Assurance thereof. *Private Liberty*, therefore, is neither changed nor transferred by the Institution of *Public Liberty*, no more than Men are changed by the Institution of Society. *Private Reason* is continued in *Public Law*. *Private Will* is continued in *Public-Consent*. *Private Conscience* is continued in *Public Magistracy*. And *Private Strength* is continued in *Public Power*. And, where the Persons, whom the People have consented to entrust with the Dispensation of *Law, Magistracy, or Power*, where those Persons, (we say) attempt to alter or pervert the Constitution, for whose Maintenance They were solely appointed, *Government* becomes the *Evil* it was intended to prevent. The Links, by which such *Government* was connected, are,  
by

by such *Misgovernment*, ipso facto dissolved. Every Member is discharged from his *Allegiance* thereto. And it is, not by *Right*, but by *Force* alone, that They can any longer be obliged to *Obedience*.

The first and gentlest Degree of natural Slavery is the *Subjection* of a Man, against his *Will*, to the Appointments of a *reasonable* and *conscientious* Master. The first and gentlest Degree of political Slavery is the *Subjection* of a People, without *Consent*, to *wise Laws* and a *just Magistracy*.

The second Degree of natural Slavery is the *Subjection* of a Man, against his *Will*, to the *unreasonable Appointments* of a *wicked* Master. The second Degree of political Slavery is the *Subjection* of a People without *Consent* to the *arbitrary Laws* of an *iniquitous Magistracy*.

But, The last and deepest Degree of Slavery in any Man or any People is where, *Reason* being depraved and *Conscience* debauched, the *Will* itself concurs with the Suggestions of Guilt and the Measures of Unrighteousness.

In the two former Cases, where Slavery is merely a Matter of outward Restraint, whenever that Restraint is withdrawn or cast off, the Man becomes a Free-Man and the People a Free-People. But, in the last Case, no Remedy can be applied, no Recovery expected.

Where *Reason*, *Will*, and *Conscience* become the Servants of Sin, the Universe can afford no further Resource, no Principles or Ingredients whereof *Liberty* may be compounded. A sound Body can never consist of rotten Members. A free People can never consist of private Slaves. Those, who are inwardly the Servants of *Sin*, must be outwardly the Servants of *Influence*. And their own *Corruption* will offer the Hand by which State Policy will lead them a willing Sacrifice to their own *Perdition*.

Hostile Armies on all Hands, Sieges, Massacres, Devastations, were never so surely destructive of a

People as any Species of Debauchery or Venality, Corruption is like the *Wooden Horse* of old which the *Trojans*, of their own accord, introduced into their City, It is ever laden with an Host of Enemies, those Enemies lye within, They are already in Possession of the great CITADEL OF LIBERTY, and nothing further is left for Defence or Opposition.

The *Romans*, by conquering *Asia*, subdued their own Country. Wealth begot Intemperance, Intemperance begot new Wants, and new Wants begot Venality. The *Love of Virtue* and the *Love of Country* expired together. Every Voice was prostituted, every Arm held up to Sale. A *Marius* or a *Sylla*, a *Pompey* or a *Caesar* were abetted, in Proportion, as They could bribe their Followers with the Prey and the Plunder of foreign Nations or of *Rome* itself, it made no Difference. Then did Heaven send them Patriots mighty in the Words and Deeds of Virtue, not to deliver a Nation irrecoverably lost, but to convince the future World that a prostituted People are not capable of Salvation. Though a *Cicero* breathed LIBERTY through the Senate and Forum. Though a *Cato* bore her Standard through the Wilds of *Africa*. Though Tyranny lay prostrate beneath the Arm of a *Brutus*. Yet *Rome* fell the Victim of her own Corruption.

Had Mankind continued in the original Perfection of natural LIBERTY, any System of political Liberty would have been needless. Desire would have remained within the small Circle of natural Wants, easily gratified and readily supplied. As All would have been fearless of Hurt or Loss, Hatred could have found no Place upon Earth. Each would have beheld Others in the charitable and endearing Light of a Father, Son, or Brother, Mother, Sister or Daughter. Power could have been no further desirable than for Acts of Benificence and Instances of Kindness. And Love and Joy, like Air and Light, would have diffused themselves throughout the Universe of Man.

But,

But, O, the sad Reverse of human Depravity! Evils, which no System of Wisdom can duly remedy; Wounds, which no political Balsam can Cure!

When dark and stormy Passions obscured the Light of *Reason*. When Breaches were made through the Boundary of *Conscience*. When *Will* joined itself to Lust, Avarice, and Ambition. When *Strength*, that was appointed for Self-Defence, rushed forth in Acts of Rapine and Violence upon Others. Then was the fair Realm of LIBERTY laid waste, and LICENTIOUSNESS usurped both her Title and Dominion. If that might be called Dominion, where Force determined Possession, and where Each, being left at large to invade upon Others, was equally exposed to the Invasion of All.

The Weak, who then suffered by the Violence of the Strong, were under the Necessity of associating together for mutual Defence, and this was the first Step toward political Liberty.

In Process of Time a Kind of *political Reason* or Law was instituted, and a Kind of *political Conscience* or *Controul* was committed to various Hands, under various Forms of Government. But that Government was never yet framed, nor those Laws instituted which Lust, Violence, and Avarice, when assisted by Treachery, Cunning, and Fraud, may not, in many Instances, transgress and evade.

From the Premises it cannot but be evident that, as LICENTIOUSNESS accompanied the Depravity of Man and immediately succeeded to the Loss of natural Liberty, all the Attempts that have been made, by any Systems of Policy to restore LIBERTY to Man, have been successfull, so far, only as they were able to suppress or controul LICENTIOUSNESS.

Now, in almost all the Systems that ever were instituted, it unfortunately happened that no Provision was made for controuling the Controulers. Whereupon, Government became the Evil it was expected to redress, Power assumed to itself the LICENTIOUS-

NESS

NESS which it was appointed to controul in Others. The LICENTIOUSNESS of the Governors became the SLAVERY of the Governed. And almost all the Nations, now upon Earth, lye under different Degrees of Bondage and Oppression.

All Power is originally and naturally in the People; and was granted for the Defence of Person and Property. But, in the present State of human Depravity; should the People attempt to retain their original Power, what was granted, for the Defence of Each, would prove an Offence to All, and would produce instant Anarchy and speedy Destruction. Wherefore, for the Preservation and Benefit of the Many, the People always find themselves under the Necessity of committing their natural Powers to the Conduct of the Few. The Powers thus united, in a uniform Direction, become stronger by as many thousand Fold as there are Individuals who contributed their several Dividends to the Sum. And, if these Powers are employed to the Purposes of that Beneficence for which they were appointed, all the adequate Consequences of national Happiness must ensue.

The Worst of Governments, it must be confessed, is preferable to a State of utter Anarchy. For the State of depraved Nature is, inevitably, a State of War, where All are apt to prey, and are equally subject to be preyed upon; like those armed Men who were said to spring from the Teeth of the *old Dragon* which *Cadmus* sowed, Each of whom fell with Fury on the Rest of his Brethern.

But, as all Power originally belongs to the People, and, as they can never be supposed to have departed from it but in the Trust that it should be employed for their Security and Advantage; Should the Power so deputed be turned against themselves, should the Sword of their Safety be pointed against their Bosom, should their Means of Relief be perverted to Oppression, They have undoubtedly a Right to resume the Powers

Powers so misapplied, in order to obtain a wiser Establishment and more faithful Trustees.

This Expedient, however, of resuming the Powers of Government into the Hands of the People, who were never yet known to retain or to use them to any worthy Purpose, is, of all Remedies the most desperate, most dangerous and uncertain. If They are not unanimous, combined, and determined, They cannot succeed; and yet, how difficult is this for People in a State of Dissolution, connected by no Opinion, observant of no Law, nor restrained by any Superior. And on the other Hand, should They divide into Party, or ferment into Tumult, their Anarchy, as usual in like Cases, might end in a stricter Rein and a more galling Rider than any they had cast off.

It hath been already demonstrated that, without the *Government of Conscience*, there can be no such Thing as *natural Liberty*; and, without the *Government of Authority*, no such Thing as *Civil Liberty*.

In the present State of depraved Nature, while the Lusts of Sensuality, Avarice, and Ambition, are perpetually pulling and impelling to LICENTIOUSNESS; the *Government of Authority* cannot be always agreeable; and even the Little that remains, of the *Government of Conscience*, too often becomes teasing and ungrateful to Man.

How comes it then to pass, that, where Tyranny and Slavery are prevalent upon Earth, there is always the greatest Appearance of Content and Submission? and that, in Proportion as Liberty is extended or established, Men grow clamorous, tumultuous, and repugnant to Government?

The Reason is this——The Custom of an Oppression, conceived to be irresistible, throws a Stupor, on the Mind, that makes it equally insensible to the Injuries that Sting, or the Rights that should rouse it: But where the Spirit of Man is permitted to range throughout the largest Latitude that Liberty can allow,

low, It assumes a Kind of Energy and Wings and Wantonness that disdains to be held within any Limits.

Accordingly, at the Oar, in the Mine, or at the Plantation, what a quick and still Obedience is payed by Hundreds of Wretches, perhaps, to one surly and unrelenting Ruler. And, in, almost, all the Wars that now are or ever were waged, Liberty was neither the Cause nor Purport of the Quarrel, the Contest hath been between Tyrant and Tyrant, and the only Question disputed was Who should lord it over the greatest Number of Slaves. While the People who fought on either Side, fought only to maintain their ancient Chains; and the Conquered found no other Disadvantage than that of exchanging one Bondage for another.

Through the Accounts, Chronicles, and Records of all Ages and Nations, greater Regard hath been payed to *Tyrannic-Will* than to *Free-Law*; and Meekness, Patience, and Obedience have ever been the distinguishing Characteristics of Slaves.

But, in all the Common-Wealths of *Greece, Italy, Africa, Asia-minor, Sicily, the Archipelago, &c.* Peace and Submission were but rare and transient Visitants. While the almost perpetual Struggles, between the Ministers of necessary Power, and the People, on the one Hand to carry Government into absolute Dominion, and, on the other, to carry Liberty into absolute Licentiousness occasioned such intestine Tumults, Up-  
roars, and Distractions, as no Concession could satisfy nor Indulgence appease. What Horrors, what Carnage, what Deluges of Blood! what Massacres of divine Patriots, what Overthrows of Constitutions long laboured and erected in Wisdom and Virtue, have been effected by such unhappy Dissentions and Contests! So difficult it is to hold the serene and enlightened Mean between *Popular Frenzy* and the *Grasplings of Ambition*.

But, in these our fortunate Islands, Where the Estates of our Constitution are so happily tempered  
and

and ballanced, that Power is restrained from the Capacity of Mischief and the People left to range in all the Latitude that Reason and Virtue may allow. Nothing further can be attained toward the Perfection of CIVIL LIBERTY; and, while the Governors continue within the Limits assigned, and are also amenable to Laws equally appointed for the Conduct of themselves and the People, They are, surely, entitled to Obedience and Respect. But, should They rise a Step higher in Beneficence and Virtue; should They prove studious and solicitous of the Public-Welfare; should They actually effect new Laws and new Expedients for promoting the Interests and Prosperity of the People, They will be further entitled to all the Reverence and Love that Sensibility can feel or Gratitude repay.

But this they must not hope for. Independent of that Reluctance which People find in themselves against Controul, there is in the Depravity of Human-Nature, a certain Kind of Malice that takes Pleasure in Censure rather than Praise, that loves to feed on Faults but loaths Perfections. It is of *Cromwel's levelling Species*. It is not emulous of rising to the Merits of Others, but envious of dragging them down to its own Degree. It is a Littleness of Spirit, a Weakness of the Mind's Eye that cannot bear to look up at superior Lustre. And this gives a double Prejudice against Governors, first as Governors, and, secondly as Men in Station, of whom the People are desirous of hearing all Sorts of Evil, but do not chuse to believe any Kind of good Report.

Again. The People are either too ignorant, or too indolent, or are not at Leisure to examine into the Merits or Demerits of Government. They, therefore, neither see by their own Eyes, nor judge by their own Feelings. They depend, for Intelligence, on a certain Succession of Men, whom they stile PUBLIC WATCHERS or PATRONS OF LIBER-

TY. And though they see these Men yearly drop and fall off, like autumnal Leaves and Fruit, into a State of Corruption; the succeeding Growth looks so fresh and blooming, that They are tempted to renew their Dependence and Expectation.

Now, these Champions of Liberty always rise in the Esteem and Favour of the People, in Proportion to the Loudness of their Vociferation and the Virulence of their Opposition to all the Motions and Measures of Government and Administration. And when their Tide of Eloquence and Zeal is at the highest, it is remarkable that their Ebb is surely at Hand. Their only Prospect and Means of Advancement consist in enflaming Animosities and widening Divisions between Those who govern and Those who are governed. The Power, which they acquire over the weak and deluded Inhabitants of the Country, alone constitutes their Importance and Consideration with the Court. Should the People sensibly feel and be inclinable to acknowledge the Blessings of a bounteous or beneficent Administration, These their Patrons will persuade them, that the present Sun-shine of Government, though warm and comfortable, is intentionally pregnant with future Plagues and Pestilence. But, hereafter, when Ye observe this Species of Patriots at War with all Ministers, content with no Measures; when Ye hear them at the Height and Pitch of their Exclamations, profaning the sacred Terms of COUNTRY and LIBERTY! Blot those precious Words from the Tablets of your Memory, and, in their Stead write down PENSION and PLACE.

We, the Personages called LIBERTY and COMMON-SENSE, join with You in wishing to have Guardians, like Mastiffs, ever wakefull and watchfull at the Gates of the Public-Weal. But when we observe any of those Mastiffs or Patriot-Cerberuses on the perpetual Growl, we conclude, from long and repeated

peated Experience, that they are furly and clamorous merely for want of a SOP.

There are a certain Sort of Houses, within the Purlicus of *Drury*, that have a *painted Angel* hung out before the Door. And, also, at *Paris*, when a Man has Money to throw away upon a PROSTITUTE, he cannot find One readier than at the Sign of the SAINT-ESPRIT.

F I N I S.

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LIBERTY<sup>3.</sup>  
AND  
COMMON-SENSE  
TO THE  
PEOPLE  
OF  
IRELAND,  
GREETING.

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LETTER III.

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DUBLIN:

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LIBERTY  
AND  
COMMON-SENSE  
TO THE  
PEOPLE  
OF

IRELAND

G. R. L. N. C.

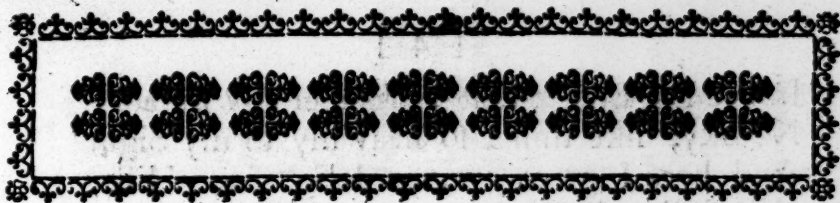


LETTER



DUBLIN

By Henry Brougham, Esq.,  
M.P.



# LIBERTY and COMMON-SENSE

TO THE

PEOPLE of *Ireland*, Greeting.

COUNTRYMEN,

**N**ATURE, Reason, Duty; the Charities, Amities, and Benevolences of Life; even humane and amiable Prejudices; and, above All, a State of popular Benefit and Freedom, join to constitute that Mass of VIRTUES which is called the LOVE of COUNTRY.

The Hero, of a certain Author, being just returned, from a tedious Exile, to his NATIVE LAND of old *Britain*, addresses It in the following passionate Expressions.

Hail, ye known Fields, and, thou my native Seat!  
That, from the Womb of ever during Night,  
Receiv'd me into Being. Here these Eyes  
First drank the Light of Heav'n, and, from within  
Dawn'd Reason's brighter Beam — O sweet  
sweet Soil!

How glad, once more, do these returning Lips  
Inhale

Inhale the Breeze that passes o'er thy Breast!  
 No Sky, like thine, so heavenly to my Sight!  
 And here I greet you, ye delightful Hills,  
 Whose Recollection, on a foreign Shore,  
 Oft made my Soul to Sigh!

**THIS** amiable Prejudice, which Men generally feel, in favour of the Land of their Nativity, is worthily founded in their early Connection with the Place where they, first, were brought into Existence. The succeeding Weakness and Dependence of their infant-State. The first Ideas and Impressions in their Days of young Delight. Domestic Fondnesses and Endearments, still circling and expanding into Friendship and Acquaintance, justly attach them to the Soil, where, as *Milton* affectingly expresses it,

*Relations dear, and all the Charities  
 Of Father, Son, and Brother first were known.*

But happily, should a Man be born and nurtured in a Land where, to the above tender and kindly Connections, the national **BROTHERHOOD OF CONSTITUTION** is added, whereby All are mutually bound to protect the Rights, Persons, and Properties of each-other; Nature, Reason, Duty, Interest, all Motives, divine and human, combine to kindle in his Breast that Constellation of every Virtue, entitled, **PATRIOTISM**.

The original Spark, from whence the said Constellation derives its future Heat and Lustre, is certainly a Native of every social Bosom. But, the occasional Damps and Checks which it receives, from the Malevolence of Individuals, or from Constitutional Tyranny, too generally cover and confine the rising Flame to the narrow Circle of Kindred, or dark-Lantern of Self.

It

It is only in fortunate Climes, highly favoured of Heaven, where this HUMAN-FLAME-DIVINE, mutually expanded and reflected from Man to Man, creates, constitutes, and prolongs the ever chearing Day of LIBERTY.

What a Glory does It cast back on the Deeds, the Memorials, and reverable Names of Those whom Life or whom Death, in the Service of their COUNTRY, hath consigned to Immortality!

But, what's the Fame of Individuals to the Renown of whole Communities? or, what these Days to Those, when PATRIOTS were not numbered by Men, but by Nations!

We may instance and sum the PATRIOTISM of the numerous Commonwealths of *Greece* in that of a *Spartan* Matron. On a Day, when her Domestic returned in Tears and Lamentations; all alarmed, She demanded the Cause of their Grief; alas, they cried! your Son, your only Son, our dear Master is no more! How died He? She asked precipitately; in gloriously fighting, they answered, for Liberty and *Lacedemon*. I thank the Gods, She replied, my Child has accomplished the great Purpose of his Existence, I BROUGHT HIM FORTH TO THE END THAT HE SHOULD DIE FOR HIS COUNTRY.

It was not through Chance, or a peculiar Fatality, as Dreamers have divined, that the *Romans* ascended a Height of Honour and of Empire, above any People that ever existed on the Face of the Earth. No, Countrymen. Any Nation, in any Age, on the same Principles, may attain to the same Pre-eminence.

The stupendous Elevation of the *Roman* Republic, rested simply on the two Pillars of TEMPERANCE and  
PATRIOTISM,

PATRIOTISM, on which it rose, encreased, and stood supported, through many Ages; till, those Pillars being sapped by LUXURY and VENALITY, the mighty Structure, with its said Foundation, grew ruinous, and fell, confounded together.

As TEMPERANCE, alone, can perfect the Strength of a Man, PATRIOTISM alone can perfect the Strength of a People.

The *Romans*, accordingly, did not live to eat, but eat merely to live. They derived daily Access of Health and Vigour from Exercise. Covering was their End of Clothing, and Hunger their Height of Luxury. And, they would no more burden their Appetite with any Kind of Excess, than they would chuse to oppress the Steed, with superfluous Lading, which they held ready to be mounted for Arms and for Action.

Each *Roman*, thus nerved and perfected apart, was yet strengthened a hundred thousand Fold by an invisible, indissoluble, inviolable Chord, which reached from Man to Man through the Extent of the whole People, and united All, as One, by the most sacred of all Connections, even the LOVE of COUNTRY.

Here lay their Incentive to Arts and to Arms. Hence sprung the HELICON of their abundant Inspiration to Toil, Industry, Frugality, Valour, Conquest, and Glory. They were swallowed, like so many Drops, in this Ocean of PATRIOTISM. They were lost to every Care and Sensation of SELF, and were only found where they laboured, fought, bled, or expired for *ROME*.

As no Number of Men can, properly, be called a  
*People,*

*People* without some *System of Policy*; in like Manner, no *People* can, properly, be said to have a *Country* without some *Freedom of Constitution*. For, as a Connection, by common Policy, can alone constitute a *People*, a *common Connection of Interests* can, alone, constitute a *Country*, to that *People*. And such a Connection of Interests cannot be established without some *Freedom of Constitution*.

But, when a Freedom of Constitution hath given to every Member, of such Community, an Assurance of the Protection of Person and Property; it becomes the Interest of every Man to preserve to all Others that Rule of Right, by which He, himself, can alone be defended.

Each Individual is, thus, incorporated and extended into every Thing that concerns the whole Community. He hath a Privilege in every Privilege; a Kind of Property in every Possession. The whole Country, thereby, becomes HIS COUNTRY. And, in labouring, suffering, fighting, or bleeding for that COUNTRY, He labours, suffers, fights, and bleeds for HIMSELF.

Is it then to be wondered that a *People*, so connected, so interested, and so animated, should act with peculiar Vivacity and Force? No, — Example; the Contact of Virtue catching from Man to Man; the same Spirit, breathing throughour and kindling All into Action, will communicate a Kind of Enthusiasm, an Energy and Exertion of Powers irresistible, by any *People* who are not equally inspired.

From hence, alone, arose whatever throws a Lure on past Actions or past Ages, whatever is worthy of Memorial upon Earth. All that is valuable in Peace or glorious in War, all the Prodigies of human  
Atchieve-

Atchievements, are assignable to wonder-working PATRIOTISM alone, sole Author of every Species of Prosperity at Home; and ever unconquerable and irresistible abroad, save when *Freemen* met *Freemen*, when *Spartans* and *Thebans*, when *Romans* and *Carthaginians* encountered together.

Now, as NATIONAL-PATRIOTISM can, alone, be produced by NATIONAL-LIBERTY, it should naturally follow that, wherever there is the greatest Perfection of *national-Liberty*, there ought to be the greatest Prevalence and Spirit of *national-Patriotism*. But, We grieve that we are under the Necessity of assigning Reasons why this may not be, at all Times, the Case.

Had all the *Minos*’, *Solons*, *Lycurgus*’, *Numas*, that ever blessed separate Nations with Systems of Policy or Institutions of Law, been united together; all their Study and Wisdom, their Depth of Genius and Extent of Experience could not have comprehended a *Constitution* so freely informed, so strongly connected, so equally balanced, and so prosperously disposed, as That of *Great-Britain*.

Is the *British* Constitution, then, of divine Inspiration? We do not, directly, affirm it. But, It is, surely, of divine and distinguished Appointment, though, possibly, effected by human and natural Means.

THE first *Caesar* found the native *Britons* a hardy and valiant People, obstinate in the Defence of Possessions that were barely sufficient to the Necessities of rude Nature, and utterly averse to the Dominion of new Lords; for They were, then, under a State of Vassalage to their several Chiefs or petty Sovereigns.

They

They could not, therefore, be actuated by a Spirit of LIBERTY, to which they had no Relation; nor by a Spirit of PATRIOTISM, or Love of a Country in which They had no Interest, save what They derived from the Root which they dug, or the Water which they drank. But, They were naturally active, robust, and daring. The Law of *Self-Defence* stood for Them in the Place of *Liberty*; and their accustomed *Attachment* and *Obedience* to their Leaders supplied, in a Fashion, the Absence of *Patriotism*; as is, at present the Case in most Places upon Earth; and as, in like Manner, the *Glory of the grand Monarque* hath proved a wholesome *Succedaneum*, in the Place of *Liberty* and *Patriotism*, and never fails to be administered to *French Valour*.

From the Time that our *Gothic* Ancestors were established in *Britain*, the Day of Liberty began to dawn upon the Land, and, though often interrupted and overcast, hath never since left us in utter Darkness. Our Ancestors the *Goths*, who invaded *Great-Britain*, were a People led by limited Chiefs who, thereafter, were exalted to limited Dominion. This *Limitation*, on the *Part of the Crown*, was necessarily associated with *Rights*, on the *Part of the People*; and, this *Distinction* gave Birth to many *Jealousies* and *Bickerings*, from Time to Time, between *Prerogative* and *Privilege*, between *Ambition* and *Liberty*, till the sacred TRADITION, delivered down from our Forefathers, was at length, recorded in our first MAGNA CHARTA, atchieved from the Majesty of King *John*.

So explicit an Acknowledgment of popular Rights; together with the Amusements of holy Errantry to *Jerusalem*, and the Projects and Enterprizings of Conquests on the Continent, by our *Edwards* and *Henrys* and such like Errants in Politics, kept Matters pretty peaceable between Power and Obedience; till the

People were involved in a new Cause of Contest, between the two Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, merely concerning who should govern, and not how the Nation should be governed. But, these Troubles were reconciled in *Harry* the seventh, who sought to take Nothing from the People but their Money. And, He was succeeded by *Harry* the eighth, who stretched Prerogative as far as he could possibly strain it, under Colour of Law, or by Consent of Parliament.

In the short Reign of a royal Infant, and the bloody Reign of a female Bigot, all Thoughts, of assaulting or defending *Liberty*, gave way to the Concerns and Contests about *Religion*. Till a Star, of the first Magnitude and brightest Glory that ever shed Influence on benighted Mortals, ushered in the virgin Majesty of *England's Elizabeth*, to snatch the Age, and, particularly, the Nation in which She lived, from all Records and Annals of Honour and Prosperity, and exalt It to a perpetual and unrivalled Pre-eminence. Ambitious of *Power*, covetous of *Glory*, She established the *First* in the Hearts of a free People, and, thence, extended the *Second* over the Face of the Earth. During a long and auspicious Reign, the perpetual Struggle, between Her and Her Subjects, was, whether She should exceed in Acts of Beneficence, or They, in Returns of Gratitude and Obedience. As a parent-Bird, this *Phoenix of England* covered the Land with the Wings of her latest Protection; but, alas! no royal Resemblance arose from her Ashes.

A *Pedant* may justly lord it over Such as are under the Years of Discretion——A *Saint*, upon Earth, is in the humble Way of becoming an Angel in Heaven——A *Wit* may be esteemed the King of Good-Fellows——And the Ambition of a *Friar* may be properly gratified with the Controul of a Convent——

But,

But, in a Throne, such Characters keep as ridiculous a Coil, as a Fish taken out of its proper Element.

*Passive Obedienc, Non-Resistance, the divine, hereditary, indefeasible Rights of Kings,* are Words which, for aught we know, may, some where or other, have had Ideas annexed. But, they are Words to which our *Gothic* Ancestors were utter Strangers from their Conquest of *Rome* to their Conquest of *England*, and, thence, down to the unhappy House of the *Stuarts*, Three of whom kept the Nation in alarm and Ferment, by grasping at a Power which no one of Them knew how to use; till the *Fourth* compelled the People to seek for Protection, under the Shelter of the SECOND MAGNA CHARTA, which they atchieved by the SETTLEMENT at the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION.

At this blessed Æra, all Colour or Pretence for Quarrel was annihilated. The political Mears and Bounds of *royal-Prerogative* and *popular-Rights*, were specially appointed. Here, it was said to the Encroachments of Power, as the Psalmist said to the Encroachments of the Ocean, thus far shalt thou go, but no further; and here shall the proud Waves of Ambition be stayed. The Scepter and the Subject were, now, inseparably wedded. The Prince was to hold his Crown under the same Obligation by which the People held their Privileges. The same unbounded Latitude was left to regal Power, as to national Liberty, for *Acts of Beneficence*; and They were equally limited in their *Capacity of Mischief*.

Thus, after many a Struggle, and many a Foil, *Britain*, like *Antæus*, rose vigorous and reinforced from all her Damages and Defeats. And, a providential Chain of Events and propitious Necessities drew Her, up Hill, to that Rock of Constitution, and Eminence

of Prosperity to which the Wisdom of the whole World could not, otherwise, have attained.

Such, and so incomparable, are the numerous Benefits that these Kingdoms derive from the said Constitution; and that Constitution is, again, rendered doubly estimable by the Firmness which is peculiar to the Construction thereof; where the three Estates, like three inclining Pillars divided below but united above, equally opposing and opposed, equally controuling and controuled, equally upholding and upheld, at once bear upon and support Each-Other.

Now, as Matters of Property are prized by Individuals; in arithmetical Proportion to the Quantity of their Worth: By the same Reason, it followeth, that Matters of public Utility should, in like Proportion, be prized by a People.

Had this been always the Case, the Patriotism of the *Greeks* and *Romans* must have been languid and lukewarm, in comparison of the glowing Patriotism of the *freer and happier Members of a British Constitution*: And this *incomparable Constitution* would have been considered, by every Individual of our Community, as *the Pearl of inestimable Price*, to be guarded, valued, and retained, at the Risque, Exchange, or Loss of all other Possessions.

If the *Greeks* and *Romans* were so covetous and retentive of their *Pound*, what Misers must we suppose them, had They been possessed of our *Plumb*, of which we appear so lavish and negligent. But, the Truth is, that, though *Patriotism owes its Birth to the Value of Constitution*; it must look to derive its *Growth and its Maturity from the Addition of Virtue and Union*, alone.

*Public-Patriotism* is no other than a *public-Love of Country*

*Country* connected by a Community of Interests and Attachments; this Connection can no otherwise be impaired or destroyed, than by a partial or total Separation thereof. *Party*, alone, is effectual for *Division*; *Corruption*, alone, is effectual for *Dissolution*. The First *impairs*, the Latter *destroys*. And Both of Them, in their respective Consequences and Degrees, are the natural and irreconcilable Enemies of PATRIOTISM.

Throughout the Extent of our benificent Constitution, neither LIBERTY nor COMMON-SENSE can admit of any salutary Distinction, save One. CONSTITUTIONAL or UNCONSTITUTIONAL is the WORD. *Constitutional* divideth not, like *Truth*, it remaineth the Same. It is the Nation, Itself. And All, who divide from It, are the Apostacy, the Foulness, and Dregs of the State, that ought to be purged off and cast away. Beyond this, all Parties, religious or civil, however formed, or founded, or glossed, or denominated, *come from and proceed to Evil*.

As Parties divide They, consequently, weaken a People. But, the mutual Jealousies, Passions, Resentments, and Anthipathies, that prejudice and enflame such Parties against Each-other, do more than divide *from*, They divide the House of the Nation *against* Itself. And, all Patriotism and Public-Spirit, all Care and Attention to national Concerns, are, thereby, diverted, contracted, and engrossed, by Partial Attachments and personal Piques.

A *Party for the Country* is the Country, itself, from which a *Country Party* often differs, as widely, as a *Mill-Horse* differs from a *Horse-Mill*.

Wherefore, as far as Parties conduce to distract and weaken a State. As far as They conduce to divert  
the

the Attention and Affections, of a People; from their principal Object, the CONSTITUTION, or PUBLIC-WEAL; so far do They conduce to weaken and abate that Spirit and Efficacy of PATRIOTISM, which constitutes the Power, Glory, and Prosperity of a Nation.

But, if *Parties* shed the Fruit and shatter the Leaves and Branches of PATRIOTISM; *Corruption* strikes at the Root and Essence thereof.

*Corruption*, to a Community, is the same Thing as an adequate Degree of *Rottenness* to a Piece of Timber. As far as it proceeds, It separates the Particles, or Individuals from their Attachment to the Whole. So long as the constitutional, or principal Fibres continue intire, the Body will retain the same Appearance of Cohæſion, though the intervening Spaces are filled with Dust. But, then, It cannot retain it's former Firmness or Utility. It will be subject to be crushed to Powder by external Violence. And the smallest internal Progress, toward Corruption, must, finally, reduce both Form and Essence to Ashes.

These, Countrymen, are Matters that concern You most intimately; and They shall, therefore, be more fully and particularly explained, under the respective Heads of *Party* and *Corruption*. But, before we close the present Chapter on PATRIOTISM, it may be incumbent to say somewhat, in answer to an Objection that was made to Part of our last Letter.

It is said, that no Discouragement ought to be given, no Kind of Odium cast on any Appearance, Shadow, or Similitude of PATRIOTISM. But, that we ought, with open Arms, to cherish and careſs the smallest Likeness of a VIRTUE, so desirable, so rare, and so much wanted in this Nation.

We

We confess that this Reproof carries a fair Face of Justice. And, were we sensible that such a Similitude bore any Relation to the Substance that it represents, or, partook, in any Measure, of the Virtue thereof, we would gladly do ourselves Honour, in a public Acknowledgment and Retraction of Error.

But, on the contrary, we are taught, by many Proofs and long Experience, that the *Counterfeit* of *Patriotism* is, of all Things, the greatest Contrast to that which it resembles. It is, as the Masque of *Diana*, on the natural Face of a Harlot. It is, a painted Stalking-Horse, from behind which the greatest Quantities of Geese and Widgeon are shot.

Should another *Ixion* be enamoured of *Juno*, and perceive her Similitude impressed on a Cloud, ought He not to be shy of any hasty Endearments? lest this Appearance of Divinity should be pregnant with Thunder and Lightenings, prepared for his Destruction.

Hypocrisy, of all Kinds, is doubly charged with Guilt, and is, therefore, doubly detestable; while, on one Hand, it perpetrates the Deeds of Vice, and, on the other, brings Scandal and Disrepute upon Virtue.

True Patriotism cannot be hurt or dishonoured, save by the Vizard that, at once, assumeth its Likeness and belietihs its Principles. The frequent Detection of counterfeit Saintship gives Thousands a Disgust to real Religion; and, thereby, becometh the principal Promoter of Vice and Infidelity. And we have known many Instances wherein the common Cheats and Impositions, of Mendicants, have hardened humane and benevolent Hearts against Objects truly deserving of Charity and Compassion.

Hypocrisy,

Hypocrisy, and the Affectation of Puritanism, in the last Age, hath put Religion, in the present Age, altogether out of Countenance, and, consequently, out of Fashion. The Appearance of Devotion no longer subsists. The Reality thereof hath lost its Fervour: And, even, the truly pious are shamed out of the Profession of their Principles, and assume the outward Airs and Deportment of Unbelievers.

As *Falshood* is to *Truth*, such is *Appearance* to *Reality*, an Enemy ever adverse and irreconcilable. As the *Semblance* of Patriotism, through want of Observation, hath been taken for the *Substance*; the *Substance*, in like manner, may be taken for the *Semblance*; and, thus, the most reverable and beneficent of Characters may be shunned, and suspected, and robbed of all its Glory; while the People are, equally, robbed of the Benefits they might derive from an adequate Confidence and Dependence thereon.

Indeed, the Fate that attended *Religion*, as above-mentioned, hath equally attended the Practice of Patriotism. The sanguine, but deceitful Professions thereof. Promises made to be broken. Expectations and Dependencies, so often raised and created to be dropt and betrayed, have cast a general Reproach on the most honourable and sacred of all earthly Titles. And this Reproach is become the Triumph of all little, reptile, and selfish Souls, who take Occasion to sneer at the slightest Attribution of Public-Spirit to any Man.

Where a particular Profession is, thus, held in Contempt, the Practice thereof must quickly decline; for, even the true Patriot will be tempted to suppress the generous Emotions arising in his Bosom; lest the Expression of his real Sentiments should cause him to be considered as an Hypocrite or Impostor.

To whom, then, shall we ascribe this national Calamity? even to the Folly, Frenzy, and Ingratitude of the Multitude.

Were a Patriot, or a hundred Patriots, without Noise or Ostentation, to expend their Fortunes, Labours, and Lives, in the Service of their Country; They will die unregretted and forgotten by the Populace.

It is Bustle, Eclat, and Glare, alone, that can attract the Attention or Admiration of the Vulgar. Artful and designing Men lay Hold of this silly Propensity. They have, of old, persuaded the People, that the Character of a *Countryman* consists in being at perpetual Fisticuffs with the *Court*. Accordingly, in the Eye and Opinion of the Multitude, a Man commences *Patriot* from that Moment, only, wherein he commences an *Opposition to Ministry*. And, in proportion to the Unreasonableness and Virulence of that *Opposition*, He receives his appointed Measure of *popular Applause*.

The Politicians, who infused these Notions into the Minds of the Vulgar, had undoubtedly their Reasons for so doing. But, did they believe the Doctrine that they preached? by no Means. They perfectly knew that *true Patriotism*, like *true Friendship*, consisted in *serving the Object of Affection*; and, not in the Creating or Exasperating of Enemies against the Cause that they intended to defend or promote.

These Politicians, also, knew that no Bounty could be granted, no Regulation made, no Indulgence given, no single Act passed, for the Benefit of this Nation, without the Consent and Co-operation of that very Court whom they were studious to vilify, oppose, and provoke.

These Politicians knew, further, that every Legislator, who truly loved or proposed the Interest of his Country, would be as far from clogging the Wheels of Government, on the one Hand; as He would be from assisting to drag Them through dirty and devious Ways, on the Other. They knew that such Legislators would, consequently, concur in all salutary Expedients, and conform, as far as possible, to the Measures of the Court, in order to procure equivalent Advantages to their Country.

These Politicians, lastly, knew that their inciting and hallooing a deluded and headlong Populace, against Government and Administration, must naturally provoke the Powers, on whom we depend, to withdraw every Act of intended Indulgence from a disaffected Country, whose *Liberties* They would, consequently, be tempted to abridge, under Colour of checking and limiting their *Licentiousness*. But, what is *Liberty*, or *Country*, or *public-Concerns* to Men, who have nothing in View but *private Gratifications*.

To attain the secret Ends of Avarice and Ambition, They appointed three Species of *mock-Patriots*, who, like *Mountebanks*, in the Place of graduate Physicians, were, with the greater Parade, to personate Characters to which they were Strangers.

The first Species consisted of *patriot-M——rs*; the Second, of *patriot-Scriblers*; and the Third of *patriot-Mobs*.

The Office of the First was to provide a large Quantity of Stumbling-Blocks, Letts, and Obstacles of all Kinds, to cast into the Way of the Vehicle of the Common-Weal, whatever Road or Direction it might happen to take.

The

The second Species were ordered to pry for, and publish, every Blemish and speck, discoverable, in Characters whom their GOD and their King had rendered reverable. And, in order to make Stains, where None could be found; They were furnished with Satchells of blackening Filth, which they plentifully cast on Nobility and Station, to the great Diversion and Delight of the benevolent Spectators.

The third Species of Mob-Patriots were, lastly, appointed, in their respective Province, to spurn and hoot at Dignity, to trample on Law, to oppose Government, to insult the Legislature, to pluck Authority from its Seat, to confound Order, and to commit Magistracy and Administration into the Hands of the Rabble.

Such is the Difference between the *Malignity of mock-Patriotism* and that *constitutional and benign Love of Country* approved and recommended to You by

4 AP 54  
LIBERTY,  
and  
COMMON-SENSE.

[ *To be continued.* ]



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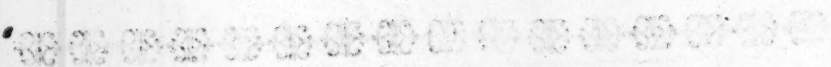
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LETTER IV.

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LIBERTY

COMMON-SENSE

TO THE

PEOPLE

OF THE

IRISH



PETER W.



DUBLIN

Printed in the Year MDCCCX.



LIBERTY and COMMON-SENSE

TO THE  
PEOPLE of Ireland, Greeting.

Countrymen,

**T**HE MONARCH, who wished that his People had but one Head, that he might effect their Destruction without the trouble of a second Blow, is justly held in Detestation. But, much more malevolent was that *Minister*, who seemed to wish that his Countrymen had but one Soul, that he might poyson, by a single Infusion, the *eternal Fountain of Virtue and Happiness in Man*.

The Loss of Friends, Fame, Fortune, of Life itself, may be retrievable in better Worlds and in happier Climes. But, when a Man loses his Integrity, he is equally lost, to himself, as to the World; were he Possessor of All that our Solar System contains, He is worse than worth Nothing, He has fixed an unbottomed Gulph betwixt himself and Enjoyment.

When *Jugurtha* could say, with Truth, *Roma omnia venalia*, He, at once, pronounced the Fate of the Mistress of the World. The Words fearfully imported that VIRTUE, LIBERTY, the COMMON-WEALTH WAS NO MORE.

When

While National Virtue continued to inform the Republic, PATRIOTISM appeared in the *Roman Hemisphere*, as a *Galaxy* or *Milky-Way*, where Individuals, mingling Blaze with Blaze, produced a Community of inferable Glory; and, each became indistinct, by the Participation of mutual Brightness.

But, when Corruption, like a contagious Vapour, had stolen upon the Land; when Immorality had obscured the Light of Virtue and the Paths of Rectitude; the few Patriots, that arose from Time to Time, shone forth with singular Lustre, as Stars distinguished by the surrounding Darkness of the Firmament. The People gazed and admired the Peculiarity of their Appearance, but neither felt the Warmth, nor acknowledged the Influence of an Example that they did not desire to imitate.

It is thus, that, when Corruption grows general; when it is countenanced by Example, and patronized by Station. When Public Duty turns Public Strumpet. When the Trusts, reposed on Men by their Country, are set to Sale. There is no longer any Ground whereon Confidence may tread; there is no longer any Chordage whereby PATRIOTISM may bind a Community together. It is then with our moral World as it would be with the material, should the Laws of Cohesion cease to operate, and those Particles be dissipated, whose orderly Connection now form the *Beauty* or *Commonwealth* of Nature.

A People, in such a State of Degradation, have just such a Notion of *Patriotism* as the blind-Man had of Colours, when he said that Scarlet was like the Sound of a Trumpet.

Say — Country-men — Are You much better informed? Do You know what PATRIOTISM is? Do  
You

You know who is the Friend, or who the Foe of your Country? Do You know when You are benefited, or when You are hurt? Do You know what to ask for, or what to refuse? Do You know wherefore You are angry, or why You are appeased? We affirm that You know Nothing of all this; and, We wish that it may not be too late to be instructed.

It is said that there never was an Age so elegant in Arts, so dilated in Science, so subtile in all the Refinements of *Understanding*. It is also said that there never was an Age of so avowed a Depravity and Corruption of *Heart*. And, possibly, the Truth, of these two Positions, so apparently different, may not be irreconcilable.

MAN, in his natural and unreformed State, is openly ferocious or unaffectedly humane. He is rude, unsocial, rapacious, revengeful, and cruel: Gentle, friendly, generous, compassionate and kind. He rushes, unbridled, wherever his Temper inclines. He is all Things, by Turns, and every Thing in Excess.

Society, Commerce, Plenty, Erudition, and Science, serve to enlighten his Ignorance, to regulate his Passions, and to polish the Rudeness of his original Mass.

But when the Gold of Nature thus polished and refined, is further beaten into futile Leaf, for superficial Ornament and elegant Disguise. When Education consists, not in Learning the Duties, but Devours of Life. When the Attention that should be given to the Reformation of the Heart is wholly expended in modulating the Manners. When Simplicity and the Feelings of inborn Affection are exchanged for external Affectation and Complaisance. When  
Eloquence

Eloquence is exercised, not in order to discover, but to puzzle Truth. When the Study of Virtue is transferred to That of Delicacy, and moral Practise sublimated into Theory and Speculation. It then becomes questionable whether Man had not better have retained his evil-Qualities unreformed, than that his good-Ones should thus evaporate through an over Refinement.

But, should the *Vices* themselves, when polished and adorned, be adopted and approved, as *Virtues*, by Society. Should *Deceit*, *Slander*, *Avarice*, *Sensuality*, *Lust*, and *Murder*, be admitted, under fashionable Forms, and respectable Titles, such as *Politeness*, *Wit*, *Amusement*, *Taste*, *Galantry*, and *Honour*. Should human Worth and Wisdom derive their Estimation from the Warrant of the Mine and Mint, alone. Should additional Affluence beget additional Appetites, and Art be occupied and exerted to gratify Desires that pass the Limits of Nature. For the Maintenance and Indulgence of Sensuality and Licentiousness, should all Means be attempted and Prostitutions embraced. Should the Voices of Electors, the Honour of Legislators, Fame, Family, Posterity, Constitution, and Country, beset to Sale. Let All, who yet remain untainted from the Contagion of such a Community, fall prostrate and address the following Petition to that POWER who, yet, can stay a sinking People from Perdition.

“ O THOU! who alone canst make, and canst  
 “ restore, give us the *Poverty* and *Abstemiousness*, the  
 “ *Toils* and *Incommodities* of the first *Romans* and *Spartans*;  
 “ but give us also their *Honesty*. Give us the  
 “ *Nakedness* and *Ignorance* of the first Tillers of the  
 “ Field and Inhabitants of the Forest, but give us,  
 “ also, their *Simplicity*. Once more reverse the Names  
 “ and

“ and Appearances of Things, and cause *Light* and  
 “ *Darkness*, *Truth* and *Falshood*, *Good* and *Evil*, to be  
 “ no longer convertible or mistaken for each other.  
 “ Tear off the Covering of *Fashion* from *Guilt*, It will  
 “ not, then be amiable, it will not be thought neces-  
 “ sary. No longer permit us to plough the Sands, or  
 “ sow the Waters, or fish in *Æther* for *Happiness*.  
 “ Restore *Esteem* to its ancient *Proprietors*, to *Virtue*,  
 “ to *Capacity*, to *Strength of Understanding*, to *Be-*  
 “ *nevolence of Heart*, nor let a *Coffer* be thought  
 “ capable of every human *Excellence*. If *Wealth*  
 “ may not be with-held, O grant it to *Beneficence*; suf-  
 “ fer it not to be a *Shield* to the *Doers of Iniquity*,  
 “ neither a *Bait* in the *Palm of Factors* for *Prostitu-*  
 “ *tion*, neither a *Sword* in the *Hand of Violence*, nor  
 “ a *Mace* in the *Hand of Oppression*! Cause the *Cap*  
 “ and the *Knee* to bow down in *Reverence* to the  
 “ *Protectors of Innocence*, to the *Patrons of the Poor*,  
 “ and to the *Lovers of the Public*; the *Approbation* of  
 “ *Goodness* is the surest *Introduction* to the *Practise*  
 “ thereof. Restore unto *Woman* her native *Orna-*  
 “ *ment of Shamefacedness*; restore *Valour* unto *Man*  
 “ by restoring him his *Integrity*; and restore this  
 “ *People* to *THYSELF* by restoring Them to *VIR-*  
 “ *TUE*.”

IT IS not *Propriety*, or *Duty*; it is *Custom* and *Fa-*  
*shion*, alone, that form the *Manners* and direct the  
*Practise* of *Mankind*. And, the very same Person  
 who, with *Leonidas*, would have relished the black  
 broth of *Sparta*; who, with *Cincinnatus*, would have  
 held the *Plow*, and have enjoyed a *Bed of Turf* with  
*Charles* of *Sweden*, now refuses to take either *Nourish-*  
*ment* or *Repose* that is not *softened* or *seasoned* to the  
*Delicacy* of the reigning *Taste*.

In certain Countries, at certain Ages, *Virtue* hath  
 been so common as scarce to be reputed *Virtue*; and  
*Prostitution*

*Prostitution* would have appeared as great a Phenomenon as *Patriotism* may appear at this Day. But All cannot be lost, since a second *ÆSCULAPIUS* hath arisen in *Britain*, who proposes to reunite and restore the Morals, as he hath already restored the Honours, of his dissoluted Country.

When the Plebeians of *Rome* were an Assemblage of Heroes, it is no Wonder that their Senate should appear an Assemblage of Gods. The Mirror must reflect the Likeness of its Object. Parliaments will resemble the People they represent. Such as the Choosers are, such also will be the Chosen. Patriotism cannot be the Offspring of Prostitution, nor Virtue the Begotten of Corruption and Iniquity.

How then, Countrymen, should You discern those Qualities, in Others, whereof Ye have no Knowledge or Sensation in Yourself? At one Time You appear to be a Nation of Patriots, Town and Country, People and P——t, All in Tumult, All in Uproar, against Majesty and Ministry. And again, in a few Days, You sit down in a State of disgusted Quietism, and swear that there is not a Patriot upon the Face of the Earth. But, pray now, was your Uproar occasioned by the Receipt of any Injury? No. Or was your Uproar appeased by the Receipt of any Advantage? Neither. You follow the Cry of Your Leaders you know not why; and, when They cease, You are silent, You know not wherefore. You mistake Shadows for Things, and Sounds for Significations. It is not the Virtue, but the Turbulence, of Public-Spirit, which You feel in Yourself; it is not therefore, the Virtue, but the Turbulence thereof, which You reverence in those factious Men, whom You look upon as your Tribunes.

O, tell us, how long You will suffer Yourself to be

be hoodwink'd? how long will Ye be enamoured of such stale, ridiculous, and repeated Impositions?

When the Great, the Wealthy, and the Wise, of this World, have any politic Jaunt to take; They claim a Custom, of ancient Prescription, that you, the Beast called the People, should carry them and their Luggage thro' Thick and Thin, however dangerous or dirty the Road may be.

On such Occasions, They find that nothing further is requisite, than just to cherish and clap you awhile on the Shoulder, to repeat the old *jockey-Words* of *Liberty* and *Country*, then mount, seize the Bridle, clap Spurs and away.

Now though it may be difficult, all at once, to deliver yourselves from Riders so long accustomed and practised to the Seat and the Rein; we wish, however, that you might be considered as a Beast of some Apprehension; and that, before you submit your Mouth to the Bit and your Back to the Burden, your Grandees would inform you whereto they are bound, at what Rate they intend to travel, when and where they propose to stop, whether you are designed for a fair and free Road, or for short Cuts and a gallant Contempt of Enclosures; lastly, whether, your Change of Pasture may not happen for the worse; and whether, when you have carried them to their Journey's End, They may not turn You, as usual, to graze at adventure, and to be housed by the Elements.

Look back a little, fond People! revise your own Conduct; consider, for how many Years, you have been urged and instructed to lift up your Heel, and to spurn, and lash at legal Government, at the Government that is appointed by your Country and Constitution; without which you cannot be prosperous, without

which you cannot be free. While, at the same time, like an Ass, you hold out your silly Head to the Leading of any Fellow, who pleases to take you a private Path, for his own private Purposes.

Come then, Countrymen, and endeavour to reason, but a Moment. Let any One from among you, step forth, and tell us, what These your Guides, your Counsellors, your Patrons have done in your Favour? In what Instance have you been benefitted? what Advantage hath been atchieved, or what Plume hath been won for you by these your Heroes, your Champions, your Patriots, your Demigods? have they encreased your Public-Income, have they lessened your Public-Taxes? have they extended any Liberties, have they recovered any Rights? Have they attempted any Accession of your Fortunes at Home, or solicited any Favour or Friendship for you abroad? No, Countrymen; quite the contrary. You looked toward your own Interests but you laboured and rowed to their Interests alone. They sold you, they jobbed you, they jockey'd you away; and you compelled the Administration to pay down the Price for you, though they generously declined to take advantage of their Bargain.

Mark, therefore, and behold the Mystery of this Iniquity revealed! Observe, and We will shew unto you, as plain as *Paul's* from *Highbgate*, where your Damages, your Disadvantages, and Dangers lye, on the one Hand; and where your Interest, your Liberty, and Security stands, on the other. And, henceforward, remember, that, where your Interest is, there will your *true Friends* be gathered together.

IT HATH been a Custom, almost Time immemorial, for Parliaments to be divided into a Party called

called Courtiers, composed of Men who are in Place, and a Party called Countrymen, composed of Men who are out of Place. Both of them, simply and invariably, keep the same End in View, while they appear to stand opposite; and These from the East, and Those from the West, equally point to the Northern STAR of INTEREST.

The one Party retains the Denomination of Courtiers just so long as It is kept within the Circle of Pre-ferment: And the other Party retains the Denomination of Countrymen, just so long as it is kept from entering the said Circle, to which It lays close and unremitted Siege.

It is not uncommon for these Parties to change Places, and when they change Places, they change Denominations, when they change their Denominations, they also, mutually adopt the Measures of Each other; but there is no Manner of Occasion for any Change, or new Adoption of Prospects or Principles, because their Prospects and Principles were originally the same.

The Party called the Court Party, must always be prevalent; for whenever the Country-Party happens to grow the stronger, It pushes its Adversary out of the Court-Circle, and instantly assumes the Title and Appendages of its Place.

Know, therefore, deluded Mortals! that it is neither in the Power, nor Prospect, of a Country-Party to achieve any of the Points for which they seem to contend, with so much Violence and Clamour, and, which they would have you to believe so indispensably necessary to your Liberty and Welfare: And further know, that no National Bounty, no salutary Law, can take Effect in these Kingdoms, save, by the mere Motion, or good Will of the Court.

Where

Where the Interests of *King* and *People*, of *Court* and *Country* are not wholly the same; They are, at least, so naturally, so necessarily, and intimately connected, that no Measure can be taken, of real Advantage to the *Court*, that will not reflect some Advantage to the *Country*; nor any Concession granted, beneficial for the *Country*, that will not immediately, or ultimately tend to the Benefit of the *Court*.

We speak not here of imaginary Advantages; such as, Taking from the Prerogative or Power of the Crown, to add to the Privileges of a Licentious People; or, Taking from the Liberty or Privileges of the People, to add an overbearing Power to the Crown — In either of those Cases, the Perpetration of such an Attempt would prove equally pernicious to *Crown* and *Country*, as it would prove pernicious to the *Constitution*, in which both of them are connected, and, by which alone they subsist: It would prove, on either Side, like a Piece overcharged, It would recoil, and overthrow the Party who took Aim, as well as wound the Party at whom it was levelled.

Wherefore, Countrymen, bear in Mind, that, tho' you may be benefitted, you cannot be essentially hurt, while the Constitution remains intire and unshaken. And, when you perceive any Attempt to encroach on the *Constitution*, by encroaching on *Popular Privilege*, or *Crown-Prerogative*; bear also in Mind, that such Attempt was never made, through any Love or Attachment to the *Crown* on the one Side, or any Love or Attachment to the *Country* on the other; It cannot be made, but by turbulent and flagitious Men, who are ready to sacrifice both *Crown* and *Country*, on the Altar of their own Avarice, or to the Idol of their own Ambition.

As such Men indiscriminately, may be *in, or out of* Place; such Men, indiscriminately may be of *Court* or *Country* Party.

Such Men, when in Place, deem it their Interest to secrete, as it were, the Monarch to themselves. In order to attach and confine him to their own Influence, they wish to sever and seclude him from the Influence of all others. They, therefore, represent his Subjects, as a People prone to Licentiousness and Insurrection, averse to regal Authority, Contemners of Majesty, rebellious to Government, and Usurpers of Prerogative. For they apprehend, not unwisely, that, if the Monarch should cast himself on the Love of his People, he might become independent, of their Advice and Assistance, and might make Merit alone the Candidate for Office, and Object of Favour.

Such Men, who are out of Place, on the other Hand, deem it their Interest, to persuade the People, that the Monarch and his Ministers are machinating an Establishment of unlimited Power, but, that they choose to proceed by Sap and Mine, a Method of Hostility, not obvious to the Public-Eye, though discernible by themselves, the Guardian-Dragons of the golden Fruit of Liberty.

Thus, these Pests of Society, Prosperity and Peace, mutually divide and exasperate an indulgent Prince, and a loyal People against Each-other; and, almost, persuade them to attempt, in their own Defence, the very Mischiefs that are reciprocally though falsely, imputed.

Accordingly, We have known a People famed for their Loyalty, so enflamed, by their factious Leaders, against a beneficent and undesigning Government, as gave just Alarms to all Lovers of the Constitution. The Leaders, thereby, became justly formidable

ble to a peaceful Administration. To appease a deluded *Country*, the *Court* was constrained to take the Chiefs of the Faction, with their Dependents, into Favour. Honours were consequently, granted, and Posts, and Places assigned, to Acts that were detestable and Talents that were despised. The Leaders became new Men, they turned about, and began to declaim against Rioting and Sedition. The popular Ladder, on which they rose to Preferment, was, instantly, cast aside. And the very Idea of Patriotism, so prostituted and profaned, was laughed at, as the Chimera of inventive Antiquity. But, no more of this, at present; for we deem it a Part of Discretion to be very sparing of Truth, where we would be sparing of Offence, on certain Occasions.

We affirm, that there are many possible Causes of Quarrel, on the Part of a free People. But, then, such Causes must be of National Concern. They must, in no Case, be partial. They must be social and indeterminate. They must pervade the Constitution. They must respect the whole Community.

Your two MAGNA CHARTAS. Your FREEDOM of ELECTIONS. Your Claim to JURIES. LIBERTY. PROPERTY. PARLIAMENTARY INDEPENDENCE. These are great, and good, and glorious Things! Claim them, assert them, depart not from them. You will best serve your *Country*, You will best serve your *King*, by affirming that *Constitution*, whereon his regal Power and Dignity are founded.

But, then, you should consider that POPULAR RIGHTS make but One of the THREE PILLARS, on which these Nations rest. The two other Pillars, of PARLIAMENTARY-PRIVILEGES, and CROWN-PREROGATIVES, are equally necessary to the Support of a *British* Constitution. And, should Ye  
wickedly

wickedly push at the *One*, or the *Other*; Ye will incur the Fate of a *blind* and *desperate Sampson*, and be buried in the Ruines which you, yourselves shall have wrought.

It is the CONSTITUTIONAL and unquestioned PREROGATIVE, of his Majesty, to fill Places of public Authority and Trust. And, yet, the Time hath been, when ye would have wrenched this very PREROGATIVE from his royal Hand; had not his paternal Indulgence prevented your Violence, by yielding to your Frenzy, and subscribing to your Dictates.

O, never may there come a Season, of like Inclemency, between a gracious Sovereign and a Set of wayward Subjects! Be wiser, for the future; be more friendly to your Country; and forbear to intermeddle, and embroil yourselves, in Matters that are, no Way, your Business, or Concern.

If some are at Cuffs for Power, and others wrestle for Place; refer them to their Master; or let them fight it out, among themselves. But, never more risque your own, or your Country's Damage, where Ye have nothing to gain, on either Side of the Question.

TWO quarrelsome Members of a certain Manor, took it into their Heads to box, upon the *Question* of, *Who was fittest to be appointed Chief-Gatherer of the Tolls*. On either Side, they alarmed and mustered the Neighbourhood. Each exerted his Oratory to engage as many Seconds, as possible, to his Party; and it was every Moment expected that the whole Country should fall together by the Ears. When, One, of the next Towns-men, having the Prudence to inquire the Cause of the Quarrel, very soberly addressed the Combatants, in the following Terms.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen — Whatever may happen to be the Issue of this Question, I understand, that We, who are called to a share of the Contest, are, however, not to expect any Share of the Prize. Wherefore, if you do not think proper to leave the Decision to your natural Judge and Master, our good Lord of the Manor; e'en settle the Business between yourselves. Whoever may happen to be appointed Toll-gatherer, I presume we shall have no Remission of Taxes, And, so, Gentlemen — You may go to Loggerheads, as soon as ever You please.

BE NOT offended, Countrymen, if We ask you one simple and civil Question. It is no more than This.

Suppose, that GEORGE the SECOND, who may appeal to you as *Samuel* appealed to the *Israelites*; who may challenge You, to declare, whose Ox or whose Ass he hath taken, what Liberty He hath lessened, or what Privilege He hath infringed. Suppose, I say, that your King should make Trial, whether it were possible, by any Means to please you. Suppose that He should cull, from among his Cousins and Counsellors, some Patron, singularly zealous for the Interests of *Ireland*. Suppose such a Man invested, as an Angel, with ample and equal Powers, for effecting every Article of National Prosperity. Suppose him wise to Plan, and warm, to execute every Scheme of public Emolument to you and to your Country. Would ye be pleased with such a Patron? — No — Countrymen — No — Not while a single Popular Leader were left, with Appetites, unsatisfied, and Sophistry, yet unsilenced, to question, and to cavil, at ministerial Friendship, or royal Beneficence.

Whence, then, is this Perverseness? is it from *Malice*

*lice or Ingratitude?* We should do you great Injustice, did we charge you with *One* or *Other*. Your Perverseness proceeds from Ignorance and Error alone.

The true Interests of *Ireland* are a Study, and Concern, with which neither you nor your Betters, have been conversant.

*Assent, Consent, Dissent, Unions, Grand and Petty Questions.* The *Turning of old Barns into new Barracks*, the *Importance of a Partridge*, and the *Salvation of a Hare*, have formed the magical Axis, whereon the Cares, Contests, and Solitudes, of *Ireland*, have turned for upward of half a Century. While a Million of her Hands are restrained or discouraged from Labour, by Law. And while the Crafts, and Manufactures, Art, Industry, and Trade disengaged from the Disturbance of any popular Concern or Clamour, may take their Rest in Peace, and sleep on to Eternity.

Permit Us to rouse Them! Permit us to awaken Yourself to a new Sense of Things, To shew You your true Interests. To shew You, also, your true Friends. They are impatient to attend You, with our next Address.

## LIBERTY, and COMMON-SENSE.

[ *To be continued.* ]

his or her husband? Should do you great injustice  
did we charge that with Ourselves - You know  
various proceedings in the government and such things

2. The true interest of the nation is only and Com  
care, which you for you say it is not, have  
been concerned

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